/27 cont./

251/ like have no meaning in these regions. Therefore authors
261/ very correctly say: "The Indian is not economical; this virtue is unknown in the tropics."

273 58. Worse than the intemperance of the Indians in food are their excesses in drink. We continue quoting: "Their vehement addiction is drink, which they themselves prepare"; kachirí itself and various types of carato. And from excessive drinking, here as everywhere, and more when the fermentation continues in the stomach, come the foams of ire and lustfulness. "When the Indian is in his cups, he is no longer the gentle man of the forest; he brags of his bravery and provokes arguments that end in fights, with their resulting tribute of blood.... The women also take part in these orgies and lose their habitually modest behavior," shy and chaste.

The kachirí of the Indians, which in its many varieties is always a purée in fermentation, is something that they consider so necessary for their daily diet that, as Fr. Eulogio de Villarín wrote with beautiful hyperbole: "there would be a shortage of water in the rivers before one of kachirí among the Indians." [522] [574] Its lack brings about serious ill humor on the part of the men against their women; and with greater embarrassment than the husbands of Caná (Caanan) will the Indians say to their guests that they have no kachirí.

261 Hunger, properly, for the Indian, is the lack of vegetable
262 food, in the form of kachirí, sakura, etc., which they call /28/ iuân; in contrast the lack of game (animal food) is called
262 tarui, which does not refer to satiety but to vigour. In order to understand all of this well, bear in mind that the diet of these Indians lies on the following bases: drinks, various purées, fermented or not, made with plantains /plátanos/, bananas /cambures/, maize, ocumo, etc., and which receive the names yeukú and kachirí; bread, made with bitter yucca, in the form of toasted flour or mañoco and preferably in the form of cakes of cassava; sauee, the juice /yare/ of bitter yucca

/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the 273 slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied 535 by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 273 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 171 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/30 cont./

273 535 Although I have written that the Indians do not move their feet to dance without the stimulation of kachirí, this does not mean that drink is the cause much less the end of every dance among them. Nowhere in the world should the condition or the stimulation be confused with the cause.

Furthermore, although I stated that the dances tend to degenerate, as among ourselves, into disputes and less decorous acts, neither did I intend to say that everyone in the dances is reduced to committing reprehensible acts, nor that drunkenness is always extreme.

535 Among the most primitive Indians, as in more cultured societies, the dance is, above all, a manifestation of happiness, just as drink is its physiological cause. Vinum laetificet cor hominis.

Full belly, happy heart, says the proverb. The first thing the Indians want in their dances is diversion (in the etymological sense) and happiness; to free themselves from the daily struggle and the prosaicness of daily living, restricted as they are in a small circle of activities and social relationships.

65. Furthermore dancing in great choruses, with music, disguises, mimetism, drinks, etc., necessarily gives rise to that orgiastic exaltation, fever of phantasmagoric inspiration and like a liberation of the soul through tiredness and exhaustion of the body, although this might appear a paradox. There is no doubt that in this sense Menéndez Pidal wrote those verses: /31/

> "Blessed the nights -- clear ones of summer
> in which souls fly so free
> while bodies remain so languid."

And this is also why dances may have in the origins of all peoples a religious or magical sense. Let us remember the dances of David before the Ark, those of our seises /"sixes"/ before the Most Holy, on the one hand; and on the other let us

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 262 515 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 [827] 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

/41 cont./

Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101. Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

/42 cont./

and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones; the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and tó create various illusions.

94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

Hunting

/82 cont./

and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver, traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater, manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas, large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls. Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location: the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings, garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children. Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets. Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only. Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh, other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/, flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama /gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers. The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes, been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization: knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files, mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But they still remember a time when they used to make their loincloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

*192 *197 372

related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

*192 372 113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tsaupan.

372 114. Ash — benuna.

115. Charcoal — kadarrma-tipwa.

*192 116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo'.

Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

262 117. kumasa

118. putosa

119. pusa

120. kambwo

121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

*192 123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.

415 124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.

[197] 114

125. Gourd bottle — wai.

*192 272 126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.

127. Juice of cassave (yuca) — kumachi.

*192 Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

273 128. kachiri.

129. paiba

130. parakari

131. akeüyeüka

*192 *197 415 132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Taurepán, o. üna, o. ũna, ĩna. Makuchi (Williams), oi-nə. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) hõline. Most other languages agree with Yauarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arina-to, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

*192 ●273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.

237. tukūi'. Literally "humming bird."

238. warepan.

239. warepan — mūirepon.

240. ware.

241. katoi'.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. marí

243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okōyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.

245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.

246. head-dress — aro'.

247. skirt — (i)maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [256] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 276 [254] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thurn to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima and in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [172] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash [171] for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] [263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, [171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[174] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an intro- [44] duced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice.

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 – Analyst]

273 or flavored by other ingredients. The generic name for the beverages thus prepared in the simplest way is kachiri, which is usually based on a mash of casave and of which there are varieties arising from the addition or substitution of other ingredients. Grated sweet potato (Ipomea) is added to one of the commonest varieties, giving it a reddish color.

Paiba, usually distinguished from kachiri, proper, is made of cooked (overcooked or burned) casave which is wrapped in leaves and left to ferment until black, after which it is broken up, soaked in warm water, and fermented. This is dark in color and is sometimes called "black Kachiri."

Parakari is made of cooked casave, like paiba, (but less heavily cooked). This is soaked in water and then wrapped in leaves for some time before being mashed and fermented but it does not turn black.

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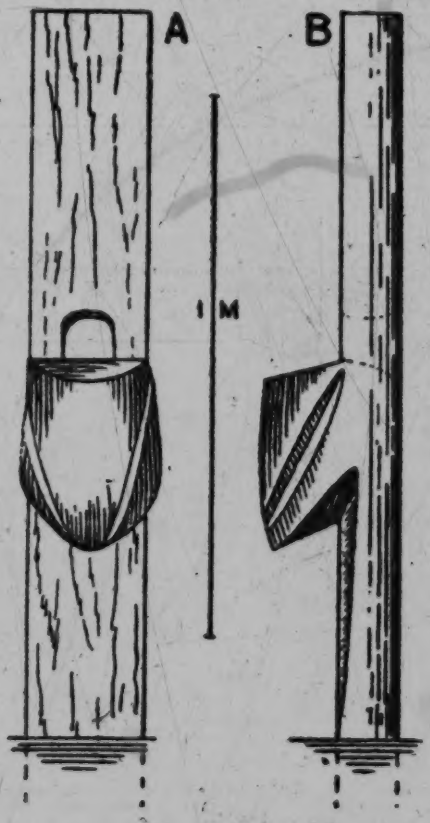

Fig. 26 — Kamarakoto Cane Press.
A. front view. B. side view.

● 273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 [249] The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes [177] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 [171] The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no [173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 177 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[478] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
682 violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalíñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page. 1/A

Dances and Amusements

●273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

1/A [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

●273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro?, and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro? but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukūi' (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzs and fox trots. [302] For the tukūi', the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special [534] costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoi' dances are danced only [256] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various e rremba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 249]

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

● 273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, par-
[508] ticularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
● 273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[242] the plant kosera, the root kōse, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
462 planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
177 legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maicha?.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

● 273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
407

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
197 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakoto retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst]
3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]